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EDMONTON, ALBERTA

LABOR DAY

September 2nd

1940



LABOR DAY EDITION OF
THE PEOPLE'S WEEKLY

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Alberta Labor Annual

LABOR DAY EDITION

THE PEOPLE'S WEEKLY

A NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPER

ELMER E. ROPER, Managing Editor

ISABEL MacMILLAN, News Editor

WILLIAM IRVINE, Associate Editor

LABOR DAY, 1940

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

VOL. XXI, No. 1

TRADE UNIONISM AT WAR

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by
RT. HON. SIR WALTER CITRINE, K.B.E.

IN the article on British Trade Unionism which I contributed to the Alberta Labor Annual last year, I wrote: "The cause of peace and freedom can still be saved if the great democracies will face up resolutely to their responsibilities."

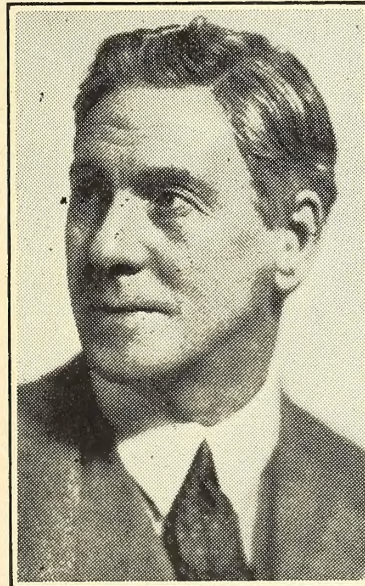
That declaration is as true today as it was a year ago. The cause which the British people are now defending almost entirely unaided, is so far from being lost that, although we are faced with the certainty of attack on a scale and of a character unprecedented in the history of warfare, there are actually fewer pessimists among us than there were in the months immediately preceding the outbreak of war.

As far as the Trade Union Movement is concerned the dismal predictions of defeatists simply have no meaning. Our five million members are engaged in a 100 per cent struggle for victory, and have neither the time nor the inclination for speculations which interfere with the work they are doing in field, factory and fortress.

Our opportunities and responsibilities have been enormously increased by the fact that we are now directly represented in the government, key positions in which are held by Trade Union leaders trained by long experience in handling workers in the mass. The war effort of the nation has, in fact, been largely reorganized on what may be broadly termed trade union lines, and the spirit of our people has been re-invigorated by the bold and practical measures which, under the stimulus of ideas put forward by organized labor, have been taken to meet the present emergency.

My review of the past year therefore falls into two parts. First, there was the period of Mr. Chamberlain's administration—from September, 1938, to May of this year—when the Trade Unions, while doing all they could to give their aid to the vigorous prosecution of

the war effort, reserved the right no less vigorously to criticize defects in the administration. The second period opened with the formation of a Government under the leadership of Mr. Churchill. Our relations with this Government, of which we are a part, are necessarily of a different character. As regards essentially trade union questions, we still retain, of course, complete independence, and are as concerned as ever to safeguard all the rights of our members in such a way that, whatever concessions may be demanded by the needs of the moment, there will be no sort of impediment to the restoration of those rights, and to the resumption of our normal progressive activities, the instant that victory over the external enemy has been secured.



Meanwhile we have this great advantage, that the government of the day includes men who understand the issues of the war as they are understood by the workers whom they have so long themselves represented, and who are not going to allow the national effort to be sabotaged or hampered by the representatives of vested interests.

To go back to the outbreak of war. One of the first steps of Mr. Chamberlain's government was to set up a Joint Advisory Council to advise the Minister of Labor on problems of labor supply in war

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The Struggle for Freedom

An Editorial by Elmer E. Roper



ORGANIZED Labor is at war for the preservation of its very right to exist. In Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa it is a war in which the Trade Union Movement is directly engaged. In the United States, the other great English-speaking country in which the workers have freedom to organize, the Trade Union Movement is wholeheartedly supporting the British Commonwealth of Nations in the struggle to preserve human liberty. And everywhere, throughout the world wherever men's thoughts still are free, progressive people are working and praying for the success of the British people in their defence of Democracy and all that it means.

But it is becoming increasingly evident that the British people are not fighting to preserve a democracy that was or is, but a democracy that is yet to be. In the statements of the British Labor leaders they have never neglected to make it clear that they look upon democracy "not as a fulfilment, but as an opportunity"—an opportunity for the people of a nation to progress in freedom towards a better world. It is that opportunity which Nazism and Fascism are employing their economy of death to destroy. The Labor Movements of the British countries are fighting and working to preserve and extend the human freedom and social security which may and should be, but have not always been, the essence of democracy. It is significant that this is the theme of most of the articles contained in this 1940 Alberta Labor Annual.

With this issue *The People's Weekly*, as the successor of *The Alberta Labor News* enters into its twenty-first year. Throughout the years the paper has fought for those human freedoms which are at stake in the conflict now raging, as indeed they were at stake before the war and will be at stake after the war. Human freedom and all that it means or may mean is never a static thing. To preserve it and extend it there must be a constant struggle, a constant striving after a better, fairer social organization.

The war is a phase of this struggle, but a phase of such importance that if it is lost freedom will be submerged for generations and possibly forever. But while the winning of the war is vitally essential it will not mean the end of the struggle; it may well mean the beginning of a new phase of it. For this reason it is imperative that those organizations which in the past have carried on the fight for freedom should be preserved throughout the war period. Only thus, indeed, may we be certain that we shall not lose democracy while winning the war for its preservation. To this task does *The People's Weekly* dedicate itself in the year upon which we enter with this issue.

LABOR *Defends* DEMOCRACY

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by TOM MOORE, President, The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

WHEN, at the outbreak of war a year ago, Labor pledged itself to support Canada's war effort, it did so with the full realization that no class in the community had more at stake than organized workers. Free trade union organization is not allowed to exist wherever dictatorships are established as demonstrated during the past year by the devastating Nazi hordes who have ruthlessly suppressed the once powerful trade union movements of the European countries they have overrun. Trade unionism can only flourish where democracy prevails and it is in defence of this that Canada is at war.

A total war permits of no half-way measures, either military or economic. Every resource at command must be applied to the end that victory is assured.

In applying ourselves to this task great care should be exercised to ensure that every step taken is essential and aimed to accomplish the desired end, and that our patriotism is not being exploited for selfish ends. It is for these reasons that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada has urged upon the Government that Labor should be accorded representation on all bodies dealing with matters where Labor's interests are affected. By this means Labor is placed in a position where it can contribute from its experience and assist in the solution of the many problems that constantly arise.

Though the Government has been slow to adopt this policy, it was put into effect when the National Labor Supply Council was set up. This is composed of an equal number of representatives of organized employers and of organized workers, whose duty it is to assist in securing an adequate supply of competent labor for the rapidly expanding war industries.

It is imperative that there should be more attention paid than in the past to the avoidance of waste in methods of production and that friction between management and labor should be kept to the minimum.

This is the object of the recent Order-in-Council issued after many months of urging on the part of the Trades and Labor Congress setting forth principles for the regulation of Labor conditions during the war which should be carried out in letter and spirit by employers and employees alike. Of special significance is the section directing attention to the provisions of the Criminal Code which aims to safeguard workers against discrimination because of union activity and the further section which supports this freedom to organize in trades unions by calling for recognition on the part of employers of the rights of members of trades unions to

negotiate collective agreements through representatives of their own choosing.

It is denial of these rights which has been one of the most prolific causes of Labor disputes in the past and the records show that where such are freely and frankly recognized, as in the case of the railways and many other large industrial groups, stoppages of work rarely occur.

If and when any modification of existing labor conditions is deemed essential, action should only be undertaken after consultation with those primarily affected and every effort should be made to secure acceptance of the desired changes by voluntary agreement.

The first call upon industry is for war supplies so that no life be needlessly sacrificed for the lack of ample food, equipment and munitions for our fighting forces. To accomplish this our productive capacity of these things must be expanded to the full. Our ability to do this depends upon the efficiency displayed in the appli-

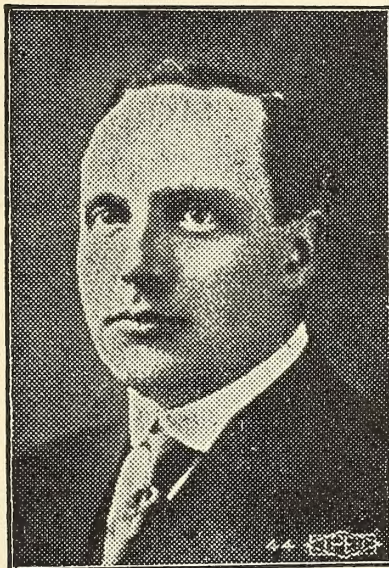
cation of labor power to the transformation of available raw materials into finished products.

Canada cannot afford in times like these to continue the waste of unemployment and until those now without work are given useful jobs to do, it is foolish to talk of extending the hours of those already employed, with the exception, of course, of such as may be required to meet the exigencies of special circumstances.

Plant and machinery must be the first to be put on the twenty-four-hour-day and seven-day-week to meet the call for increased production from war industries. Experience has proved that where hours of labor are unduly extended, production drops. It would seem therefore that the best policy to follow would be that of shift work rather than overtime. This would have the further benefit of providing more jobs and thus absorbing the unemployed.

It must be recognized, however, that the high standards set for individual workers which have been achieved by the process of discarding everybody but the best during the long years of depression, cannot be immediately met by those who, though in possession of the basic skill, are called to perform operations which in many cases may be somewhat different to those they were formerly accustomed to.

Training of youths has been woefully neglected in the past and though being more vigorously undertaken now, cannot immediately produce recruits for the more highly skilled occupations. Notwithstanding this,



training schemes should be accelerated and apprenticeship training given to the greatest possible extent.

There is another reservoir from which skilled workers can be drawn, and that is from amongst those in the older age brackets which the depression and intense competition have driven from their former occupations. No time should be lost in giving refresher courses to these men in order that their skill and experience may be used where it is most urgently needed.

Again, there are others who, finding it impossible to maintain a decent standard of living in the occupa-

tions for which they were trained, have sought to obtain their livelihood in other fields, many of which are comparatively unimportant in the present crisis. Every opportunity should be afforded, and encouragement given these to once more devote their skill where it can be of the greatest service to the State. These are among the essential first steps to be taken to increase productivity.

Next comes the problem of the proper allocation of workers to the task they are best fitted to perform. We

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Greetings from . . .

J. S. WOODSWORTH, M.P.

National Leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

FOR me it is rather a novel experience to be on the sidelines. Even this position possibly has certain advantages. I can bear testimony as to the hard and effective work of our little group in the House. While one misses some of our well-tryed members one is glad to note that our movement has now reached the stage where nevertheless the work goes steadily forward.

Our new members have readily adapted themselves to parliamentary procedure. Behind the scenes our Secretary with his legal training and intimate knowledge of the movement has given very valuable aid.

Further we have had the assistance of several voluntary workers who have special knowledge in certain fields. Some of these have actually come to Ottawa to do research on measures coming before the House.

Under Mr. Coldwell's leadership the group has managed to keep the CCF point of view constantly before the public so that in the course of a few weeks it has become recognized as a by-no-means-negligible force.

It seems rather curious that in this war-session I should have had no opportunity of expressing again my own convictions with regard to war. Perhaps I might

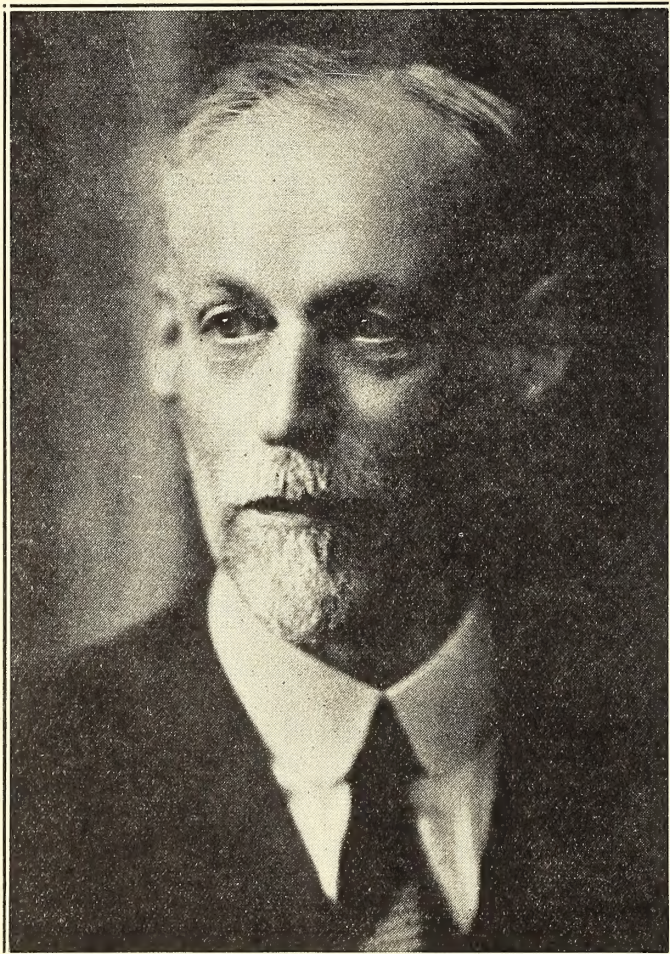
here point out that one of our dangers is the growing emphasis upon force as the final arbiter in world affairs. We think in terms of military equipment, of tanks and bombs and aeroplanes. We speak of defeating these only by the production of larger numbers of them. If

the enemy has resorted to frightfulness we threaten to pay him back in his own kind or to go him one better. It is quite possible that in order to defeat fascism, we may be led to adopt those very methods which we have condemned. Then when victory is gained by big guns or frightfulness the victor must protect himself against any possible rival. Surely not an encouraging prospect for an advance in civilization!

Fortunately down through the ages there have been a few individuals usually regarded by their contemporaries as impossible idealists if not as traitors who really believe in the strength of the non-material forces and were willing to trust to their ultimate victory. Today we need their faith. Only as we really believe in what I have called the non-material forces and show our belief individually and national by our actions can we hope to lay

the foundations of the new social order.

This requires not less heroism or sacrifice but more.



Democracy's *Goal of Victory*

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by M. J. COLDWELL, M.P., National Chairman of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation

ANOTHER Labor Day draws near again and I am glad to avail myself of an invitation to send a message to the workers of Alberta.

During these first twelve months of a titanic struggle we have seen that modern wars are no longer contests between armies, navies and air forces alone, but require the organized strength of industry, agriculture and of all the activities and resources of our people. In other words, a maximum efficiency cannot be attained apart from organization and a fully planned effort.

Organization and planning, however, can be of two kinds and for two purposes. There is the regimented planning of the fascist states for purposes of war, and social planning for democratic progress and to end poverty and want. Because we neglected the latter we found ourselves ill-prepared for the ordeal we are undergoing. That surely is the first lesson we must learn from the events of the past year.

It is correct to say that the world will never be the same again. The war of 1914-18 marked the end of an epoch. Unfortunately, when the Armistice came, the workers were not sufficiently well organized and united to exert their maximum influence in national and international affairs. The slogan of the victorious powers became "Back to Normalcy" instead of "Forward to Security". When fascism has been defeated the masses of the people must be prepared and organized to control political and economic policies for the common good. There must be no return to the normalcy of pre-war unemployment, insecurity and want. These things breed fascism, revolt and war.

This, then, is the challenge to organized labor. In Great Britain, Labor was in a position to accept the challenge and, as a condition precedent to its full war effort, demanded the socialization of essential industries, the elimination of private profit and a greater equality of sacrifice. This we have not been able to secure in Canada because Labor and Farmer alike have failed to grasp the significance of united political and economic effort.

The C.C.F. was organized by Labor and Farmer to provide a political instrument for the common good. The records of the House of Commons bear witness to its efforts there. Old Age Pensions, Unemployment In-

surance, the right to organize and the many problems of marketing for the farmer have been pioneered, urged and advocated by members of our group until governments have been converted to the desirability of such reforms. This is a slow process and in a world crumbling about our ears it is essential that the role of the C.C.F. must be turned speedily from that of education into action. In other words, progress towards a new social and economic order must be accelerated. This rests with you. Are you ready to accept the challenge?

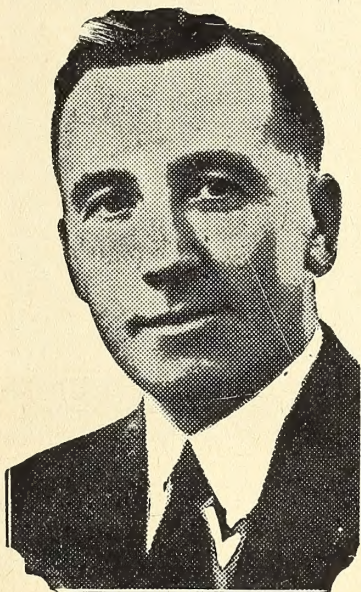
I said that the world will never be the same again. Should fascism emerge triumphant in Europe, which I do not for one moment believe probable, then there are elements in every country which will crush Labor, destroy the people's co-operatives and organize our countries on the fascist model. Ultimately, but a long way off, revolution, social chaos and untold misery will usher in a brighter day; at the end of a new dark age light will surely dawn!

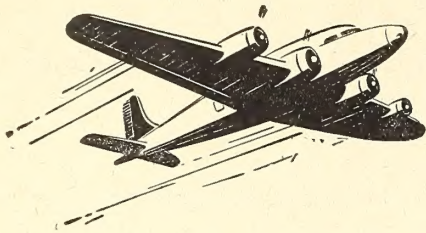
On the other hand, a victory over fascism at the end of a long struggle must be a victory for a more humane social order than we have ever known. In Britain, in New Zealand, in Australia, organized labor and the organized farmer are in positions which will enable them to mould the new order for the common good. In Canada most of our workers and farmers still support political parties whose purpose is the preservation of the status quo and whose basic philosophy is the same.

The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, as its name implies, does not aim to preserve the status quo but to build in Canada a society from which poverty, misery, want and insecurity are forever banished. This involves the organization of the producing masses.

On Labor Day, therefore, the industrial workers should take stock of their organizational efficiency and resolve that there should be a union for every worker and every worker a member of his union. In this way, Labor can contribute both to the destruction of fascism and the solution of the grave problems that confront us now and which will face us when the war ends.

The C.C.F. urges Alberta trades unionists to co-operate with us in a great forward movement for the common good. It is not enough to win a victory over Hitler and Mussolini; it must be the beginning of victory over poverty, insecurity, misery and want.





Soldiers in a Common Cause

More than ever before in the long history of man's struggle for the right to live in Peace and Freedom, this war will be won by "Soldiers in Overalls".

To the Empire's urgent call, Organized Labor has responded in the true spirit of a democratic people and with the strength and vigor that only free men could bring forth.

"Soldiers in Khaki" and "Soldiers in Overalls" both strike a blow in defence of Canada and Freedom, and together march forward to that day when a British Victory will bring release to a tyrant-straddled world.

"The road to victory may not be as long as we expect but we have no right to count on this. Be it long or short, rough or smooth, we mean to reach our journey's end."

—From a speech by the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill in the British House of Commons, Aug. 20, 1940.

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We MUST Learn from the Lesson of France

by HAROLD J. LASKI

DO NOT propose to discuss now the actual terms of the German armistice to France. For it is already grimly clear that by accepting them, the Bordeaux Government has betrayed not only ourselves—but what is worse—has betrayed France also.

Let us be clear what this means. A small handful of men, largely instigated by those who betrayed Abyssinia, Spain and Czechoslovakia, have taken advantage of the French Army's defeat in the field to hand over their country, and all that it stands for, to the enemies of democratic freedom and social justice. More: they have done so, it appears, upon conditions which mean that all the resources of France shall, until after the close of the war, be used not only against Great Britain but also to fasten the chains of Nazi slavery upon those peoples Hitlerism already controls. IT IS DIFFICULT NOT TO FEEL THAT THIS IS THE MOST SHAMEFUL BETRAYAL OF HISTORY.

Why has the Bordeaux Government done this thing? It is easy to say that the French Army was beaten and that it would have been a crime to continue a useless slaughter. But there was a powerful French Air Force in being; there was an undefeated Navy; there were the immense colonial resources capable of being organized to fight, and the attitude of Reynaud and de Gaulle, of Herriot and of Blum, showed clearly that, despite all, there was a strong will in France to continue resistance. Note that the Reynaud Government was undefeated in the French Chamber or the Senate. Note also that neither of these bodies was consulted by the Petain Government. Is it not clear that what occurred is, in fact, a "putsch" from the Right, in which, behind the scenes, men like Bonnet and Laval have used Petain as their Hindenburg to put Hitler in power over France?

Why have they done this thing? In the century's debate over socialism, we have always been told that national feeling is stronger than economic interest. That national feeling is a principle of immense strength no socialist has ever denied. But the French betrayal makes it inescapably clear that to a governing class national feeling counts for little beside class interest. Otherwise the Bordeaux Government—the representatives of property—would not have been willing to make themselves the instrument of Hitler's purposes. To refuse an armistice could have had no result worse for the French nation than the result the Bordeaux Government has achieved; and it would have kept alive the flame of resistance in the hearts of millions all over the world.

But to have refused an armistice would have meant the development of a people's resistance in France; that would have meant a people's Government; and that would have meant the social and economic measures appropriate to a society which could not, in that form, recognize the right of the "Two Hundred Families" to a monopoly of economic power. It is in the name of the "Two Hundred Families" that the Bordeaux Government has surrendered. It is to organize, under the patronage of Hitler, their own retention of the state. They have taken advantage of a defeat of which, historically, their own responsibility is immense, to trick the workers of France just as those behind Hindenburg tricked the workers of Germany when they admitted Hitler to the Chancellorship. And, in the one case, as in the other, it is the workers who will pay the price.



THAT FIFTH COLUMN WHICH SACRIFICED DEMOCRACY TO CLASS INTEREST FIRST IN ITALY AND GERMANY, THEN IN SPAIN AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA HAS HAD

THE MOST SPECTACULAR TRIUMPH OF ITS CAREER.

We fight on; but the success of our purpose now depends, as it has never before depended, upon our learning the lessons of the French betrayal. We shall have peace manoeuvres in this country. We shall have men of wealth and aristocratic position insisting on the grave difficulties we confront, the desirability of "appeasement", the cost of going on, the ruin that awaits Europe even when we have won victory. They are the men to watch. They will seek to undermine our power to resist, as their French prototypes undermined the power of the French nation. They will seek to do a deal with Hitler, to safeguard their privileged position, just as the Bordeaux Government has done. They will betray the British democracy, just as Lebrun and Petain, Laval and Bonnet, have betrayed French democracy, if its betrayal is necessary in the interest of their privilege.

The fight with Hitler has become more than ever a fight for all the things the Labor Movement the world over holds dear. To weaken now is not merely to risk them all; it is to make certain of their overthrow. The men who will govern France under Hitler's patronage are not going to think of trade union rights, of socialist principles, of freedom of speech, of parliamentary government, of economic justice. They are going to think of how, subject only to what Hitler takes from them, they can retain their grip on the workers of France. And since they cannot retain that grip under democ-

[Continued on Page Thirty-two]

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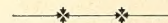
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Planned Dictatorship *versus* Planned Democracy

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by WILLIAM IRVINE

CANADA as yet is far from making that contribution to the war effort of which she is capable. Registration of man-power which has just been completed is probably part of a scheme for organizing all production on a rational basis and preparatory to finding employment for every person in accordance with the individual's ability and skill and to see to it as far as it is possible to do so that every person as well as every industry will be performing a part of a national scheme of production of the essential supplies required.

This may be too optimistic a view. For while the government obtained power from parliament to commandeer, control or take over any or all industry early in the last session of parliament, little or nothing has yet been done in that regard. Canadian industry is still operating under private management and for profit. Some industries like the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, Canadian Industries Ltd., and International Nickel are still making profits ranging from 33½ per cent on invested capital to 18 per cent. And this after having paid the new excess Profits Tax and the Corporation Income Tax imposed by the last budget. Canadian people welcome registration because they all want to do their part and to do it without personal gain beyond sustenance while engaged in whatever task may be allotted to them. And they naturally and properly feel that industry should be on a similar basis; that it too should work without profit and under direction of the representatives of the people solely in the public interest. Time and opportunity are passing but there are still hopes that this may be done. What is wanted is production not for profit, but for tanks, airplanes, machine guns, ships, food supplies, etc.

Canada's first and most spectacular effort in this war was in following practices of the last war, namely, to send an expeditionary force to Britain. This perhaps had a propaganda value. It showed that Canada's heart was with Britain, but beyond that it but added an extra burden to Britain which is now an overcrowded fortress, and being constantly though unsuccessfully blockaded and threatened with invasion.

It is now apparent that Canada's role in this war is in production of supplies, although she should and must be in readiness to supply troops if and when the necessity arises. But a few new ships to offset inevitable losses in merchant vessels, a cargo or two of airplanes a day, and constant shipments of munitions of all sorts

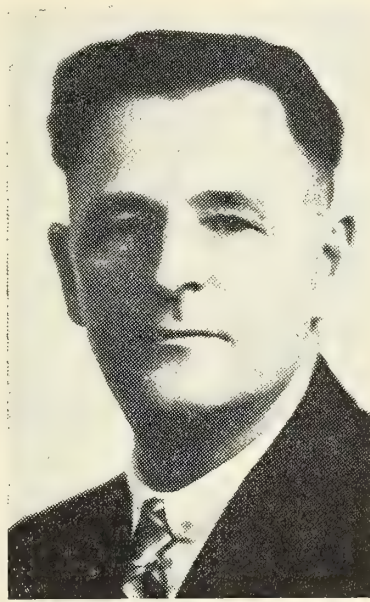
and of food would have gone further in assisting Britain to victory than the sending of divisions which so far have not been used.

What is now clear to everyone in this respect was seen and advocated by the C.C.F. at the special session of parliament when war was declared on Germany. Subsequently in the election that followed this policy was put forward only to be twisted by party politicians and misrepresented as unpatriotic. But the C.C.F. can forgive that misrepresentation and the political defeat which it brought about if only, even at this late date, Canada enters and pursues the course which will make the most effective contribution to the defeat of Nazism. And in the spirit of that freedom for which Britain and the British Commonwealth of Nations now are fighting we say that Canada's best contribution can be made during the present conflict in keeping Britain supplied. With men, yes, if they are needed, but more particularly in supplying that which from the first was badly needed and which will continue to be needed throughout, namely munitions and supplies.

And it may be further stated that the maximum output of supplies cannot be reached by haphazard individualistic effort on the part of corporations that operate for profit. Every industry as well as every person should be an active part of a carefully planned effort directed toward defending the liberty and life of all the people.

The willingness and ability to plan is the greatest of all weapons in modern warfare. Democratic leadership should not hesitate to use the weapon of planning just because Hitler and Mussolini—the dictators—use it. Britain does not rule out dive-bombers because the Germans specialize in them. On the contrary Britain strives to get more and better dive-bombers. The argument here is not that the British should do everything the Nazis do. Planning is just the normal reaction of intelligent human beings to any given complicated situation. Planning has been well used by the Nazis, and as a result they have gone much further toward their goal than would have been possible otherwise. But planning was not born of Nazism nor does it belong to Nazism. Planning is a characteristic of human intelligence and is as essential to the best results in peace as in war.

Prior to the outbreak of war there was a superstition abroad in Canada and exploited by those who opposed the planning proposals of the C.C.F. This superstition was to the effect that planning was not possible



in a democracy. It was contended that planning was the exclusive prerogative of a dictator. Planning was said to be inconsistent with freedom since it was represented as implying the rigid regimentation of every individual. This latter was harped upon so as to scare the electorate away from any intelligent direction of their affairs. Individual regimentation has never been contemplated as either advisable or implied in social planning in a democracy.

It may be said unhesitatingly that if those who claim that planning is incompatible with democracy are right, then democracy is inevitably doomed regardless of who wins the war. Who would want a way of life which prohibited intelligent direction? If it be said that every individual can plan for himself in a democracy, then that would produce anarchy in a society rendered interdependent through a specialization which has proved to be inseparable from industrial development. There must be a clear goal of our interdependent action and an adopted method of all reaching it together. The emergence of war to some extent reveals such a goal and a planned way of reaching it is, in the emergency, more readily acceptable.

It is conceivable that someone might have argued prior to the formation of democratic government, that government would be impossible under that system since everyone would want to govern himself. In other words democratic planning is no more impossible in a democracy than a government is. And as for regimentation, that may be a phase of autocratic planning and probably is, but it is not a part of democratic planning. Democratic planning will be as distinctively democratic as autocratic planning is distinctively autocratic. For example Canadians have registered for National Service. They want to serve. They have indicated in the questionnaire what they can do best. Under a democratic plan the government would endeavor to place men in industries where they could best serve. They would not send a mechanic to bookkeeping. Thus social planning would provide the opportunity for the individual to do what he wanted to do and that which he was best fitted for. There is nothing contrary to liberty and democracy in such a procedure. If it were as some contend that liberty and democracy are incompatible with planning then we repeat they are incompatible with sense and reason and certainly would not be worth fighting for.

It is not enough that the British prove to be better fighters than Germans, they must prove that they are better planners, and what is still more important they must prove that the way of life they are fighting for is a better way of life. If the actions of a democracy cannot be planned, then it will fall before the planned economy of other states even though it should be more valorously defended in battle. The fact is that all governments today have been compelled to adopt a measure of planning in order to survive. The logic of the situation then is clear. If planning must be followed in order to survive and if democracy cannot plan, then democracy cannot survive. That is the logic of the individualists who oppose social planning for social ends. And it leaves the false and discouraging impression that circumstances have made it necessary for us to fight for something which isn't worth the effort.

It would be one of the greatest contributions to victory if the Canadian democracy could plan its effort in this war more efficiently than Hitler. And be it repeated this does not mean to copy Hitler, but the very reverse of that. The technique of social planning in a democracy differs vastly from that employed by a dictatorship. Nevertheless the tendency is for a democracy hitherto unaccustomed to planning to resort to autocratic technique. When this is done and to the extent that it is done democracy loses the fight before the battlefield has been reached. We do not want to fight a war merely for the privilege of adopting Hitlerism. Let it rather be proved in the conflict that democratic planning is superior to autocratic planning.

The mechanism of social planning in a democracy cannot be dealt with in this article even did we possess the genius to submit a suitable draft of it. But it may be said that the planners in a democracy, unlike planners in an autocracy will be controlled by the people; that such planning will have a social objective to be arrived at in the most efficient and economical manner consistent with that freedom which properly belongs to the individual in a democracy; and that some distinctively democratic method must be devised by which organized labor, organized agriculture, organized business and the professions may be permitted to assist in social planning.



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"To Preserve Democracy *and* Prevent Aggression"

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by GRACE MacINNIS

THAT the C.C.F. increased its representation at Ottawa in the wartime election last March is a remarkable tribute at once to the level-headedness of the Canadian electorate and the stability of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. No small share of credit for the latter must go to its president, J. S. Woodsworth, whose character and years of work stood the movement in good stead at this time of emergency. His unfortunate illness this past session deprived Parliament of a great champion of the common people's rights. Under the leadership of M. J. Coldwell the rest of the new Parliamentary group applied themselves to the difficult task of safeguarding democratic institutions in a war period. To give a brief review of their work for the session just ended is the purpose of this article.

This work had to be carried on in a war setting. In those first tragic days last fall it became the duty of Mr. Coldwell to place before Parliament the policy adopted by the C.C.F. National Council and the reasons for it. Concluding his survey of the situation which had convinced his party that, in spite of the imperialist interests involved, the fate of democracy was also at stake, the National Chairman used these words:

"Let us remember that we are being told this war is being waged to preserve democracy and prevent aggression. Surely these things, like charity, should begin at home. And let there be no interference with the right of labor to organize, with the right of farmers to demand and receive a proper reward for their products and their labor, with the rights of free speech, of peaceful assembly and of religious freedom. The measure of our success, it seems to me, will be our success in preventing regimentation and repression and in maintaining, yes extending, our democratic rights, which totalitarianism in every form and in every guise threatens throughout the world. We must see to it that in Canada at least the lights of such freedom as we have are not blacked out".

During the past session the C.C.F. group have tried to adhere to the resolve expressed in that speech. They have steadily insisted that the way in which the war is fought will determine the kind of peace to follow, that it would be a tragedy to win the war if we lost the peace as we lost it last time.

"To Preserve Democracy and Prevent Aggression." The C.C.F. has always held that to maintain even the measure of freedom we have today we must supplement political by economic democracy secured through the social ownership and operation of finance and essential industry. This has become imperative in wartime when centralized control, coupled with additional opportunities for profit and drastic limitations on individual freedom can so easily be made the excuse for fastening upon us the very totalitarian system we would destroy.

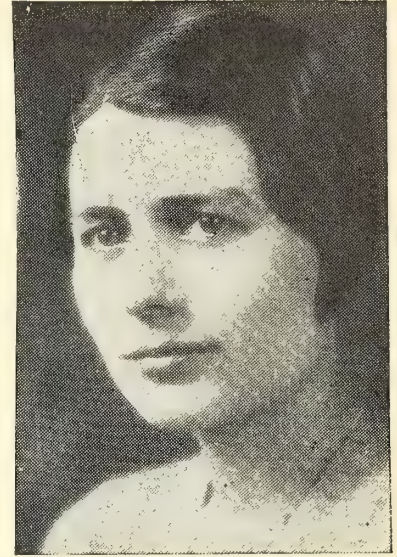
Recognizing this danger the C.C.F. group moved, during discussion on the National Mobilization Bill, that no men should be conscripted for military service until essential war industries and financial institutions had first been conscripted by nationalization. After a stubborn fight this amendment was defeated (18-182) as was a second, moving that for the duration of the war Parliament should at no time prorogue or adjourn for a period exceeding ninety days. These reverses in no wise prevented the group from continuing to demand, in season and out, the conscription of money before men.

They made numerous other attempts to secure social controls. One was their Budget amendment urging a 100 per cent tax for all profits in excess of a fixed return on capital invested. Great Britain has a 100 per cent excess profits tax to prevent large-scale profiteering. Another attempt was the attack on the big business control of the Government war boards and the exposure of the anti-social outlook of some of the individuals concerned. Still another was Mr. Coldwell's denunciation of Henry Ford, that "highly-placed saboteur", whose control over the Canadian plant is so dangerous to democracy.

In the matter of aggression abroad members of the group protested on several occasions against continued shipment of war materials to Japan. Perhaps the most flagrant example was the Government's sanction of the contract to ship all the copper output of the Granby mine in British Columbia for the next three years to those who are arming Japan in her aggression against China. Members of the group reiterated their faith that ultimately a genuine system of collective security would rise from the ruins of this war.

"The Right of Labor to Organize". Two C.C.F. members have devoted themselves specifically to the problems of Labor. They are Angus MacInnis, former street railwayman of Vancouver and Clarie Gillis, until the recent elections a miner in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia. Both are union members of years' standing. Maritime miners and fishermen found a voice when Mr. Gillis in his blunt, capable way described how one great monopoly holds the very lives of each coast workers in its giant grip and demanded that the Government should

[Continued on Page Thirty-one]



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LABOR MUST LEARN FROM THE PAST . . .

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by FRED J. WHITE, President, Alberta Federation of Labor and Alberta Section, Canadian Labor Party



IT IS fitting that on this the 21st anniversary of the founding of The People's Weekly and its predecessor the Alberta Labor News that we should cast our thoughts back over the intervening period and note the progress, if any, that has been made during that time.

What does this look in retrospect do for us? Does it give satisfaction, and arising therefrom does it give confidence that the future will deal more fairly with workers and their problems?

It is easy to judge the past—much more difficult to forecast the future.

At the time the Alberta Labor News was born, immediately following the first great war there was an optimism that the pledges given to workers that Canada was to be made a place fit for workers to live in would be consummated. But that optimism was short lived. 1922 brought an attack upon labor organizations by capital that was only withstood in part by some trade unions. There was a determined effort made to force the "American Plan" upon a great many industries. Millions of dollars were spent to disrupt sections of our movement (I am now speaking in its larger sphere—the international trade union organization) and Canada was not wholly free from the attack. Those who had pleaded the loudest and given the most lip-service to the need for a changed world as to human relationships during the 1914-18 crisis, soon forgot their assurances to the under-privileged and cut and slashed at standards of living. They and our Governments reneged on the solemn promises given. One lesson was taught, and that is that we should not forget that promises and pretty phrases are something to be skeptical about. Now is the time to have them implemented into action, and so far the attitude of our governments has not been reassuring. Workers are having difficulty in enforcing reasonable conditions on many government projects.

Canada was to be made fit for heroes to live in—ere the echo had died away, one of Canada's subsequent premiers was quite openly stating that it was necessary for workers to tighten their belts so that we could compete in the world's market with Oriental labor. A considerable change of attitude.

The other day A. C. Cummings wrote "After the last war the common people were baffled and big business grabbed back and looted. Will the old men of the City of London and the stately homes of England and so forth, ever release that stagnating paralyzing grip that holds back our people and all the people of our Empire from any fullness of life, until in sheer despair

of the monopolization, we are driven to wrench them off violently."

As workers, particularly in Canada, we were not in the best position to meet these new conditions due to the very serious split which had occurred a few years earlier and the continued division which prevailed. Divide and rule was the motto that employers' organizations knew so well and they worked it to the limit.

It is not pleasant to have to write and recall the conditions which existed, but after all, it is freely admitted that history repeats itself and perhaps out of the experiences and disillusionments of the past we might be able to try and guide ourselves for the future. That is the only reason why we should recall from time to time the unpleasant experiences of yester-year.

We had a short boom period in the late 20's, but for the next ten years the heavy weight of unemployment was a deadening hand and a whole generation of young people were buffeted about—placed in camps, rode the rods, were attacked and manhandled on more than one occasion—Regina being one of the glaring examples. "The iron heel of ruthlessness" to quote ex-Premier R. B. Bennett, was to be applied. So much for making Canada a place for heroes to live in. Dollars were voted reluctantly to ease the situation for the exceedingly large percentage of our population that found itself unable to find employment under capitalism. We hear about the freedom of the individual. It has been truly said that it is freedom of the few to exploit, but no freedom for the many, unless it be to live in insanitary conditions, work unnecessarily long hours, etc. We may have political democracy, but certainly there is no economic democracy. And it is to this goal that we must make a determined fight in the world that is to follow the present conflict.

What, for instance, will be the outlook for the three million demobilized young men now in Britain's armies, asks J. B. Priestley. "Selling vacuum cleaners will not be enough this time." The conservatively-minded Briton wants to get back to his former world of politics dominated by a ruling class, of individualistic economics, instead of free competitive enterprise, of a social system whereby the few get all the privileges and the rest of the population do all the work.

Mr. H. G. Wells wants a Britain that would be recreated not only as a full democracy in politics but as a full democracy in economic and social life. There would be no privileged or under-privileged as there are now, education would open opportunity to everyone. A scientific organization of society that would provide abundance for all; and food and raw materials would need no longer to be sabotaged because only the money is lacking wherewith to buy them.

Will anyone be so naive as to believe that our leaders in Canada want this brought about. Industrialists that fought the 5% limit of profits on war supplies can

hardly be relied upon. They much preferred to have Canada without supplies rather than submit to any such regulation. And can we hope for much from an administration that backed down from its own legislative enactments to right the wrongs of society?

It is interesting to contrast the outlook of some of our industrial leaders in Canada. Very gracious references are now being made to the Bevins, the Morrisons and the others who are displaying real leadership in the Old Land during this hour of trial; but let us not be beguiled. These same persons will be the first to try and oust them when the tide has turned and victory is in sight. They will endeavor to keep them from sitting in at the peace table and particularly at the councils afterwards when the testing time comes to carry out the setting up of the new social order to which we have been promised.

In Canada here they are the people who refuse to allow their workers to organize, notwithstanding the law of the land. Obey the law is their cry—if it suits them, yes, but they retain the right to ignore it if that suits them better.

They are seeking the aid of workers on the one hand, but persistently deny them of rights on the other. They continue to give praise at one time and then claim that the sit-down strikes in France, the belief of the Labor movement in Great Britain in the League of Nations, is really responsible for our present-day conditions. People who play fast-and-loose with the truth, can they be trusted to carry out their promises any more than was the case following 1918?

The Quislings to date have not been found among the workers. Recent articles which have been published re the activities of the "200 families in France" in sabotaging that country in order to try and maintain their age-old privileges are eye-openers.

No one wants to keep a single evacuee out of Canada if they can secure the haven of safety which we are presently enjoying and to which they are entitled. But we must now plan so that their economic problems along with ours, will be considerably better than our own young people of 1930-40. If we cannot plan for the 200,000 now who yearly leave our schools, how much better off will we be if we have another 10 or 15 thousand additional in a few years time.

We have a great country—abundance of the good things of life, electric energy to take away entirely the drudgery that still exists in many sections of Canada; material and workmen to erect modern homes for our entire population and banish the present blight of overcrowding, and slum conditions; bring health and opportunity into the lives of our entire population, but we must be prepared to insist that the pleasant phrases of today are the realities of tomorrow.

Our trade union movement must be more militant and on guard for every opportunity to better conditions in the next decade than we have enjoyed in the past and see to it that we cease going cap in hand asking for concessions, but economically and socially we shall be given our rights and economic security and the amenities of life will be the accepted right of all our population.

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TOWARDS *Total* DEMOCRACY

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by CHESTER A. RONNING, Provincial Leader of the C.C.F.

IT IS inevitable these days that our minds are continuously focused on the war. Each day C.C.F. members ask: "What vital contribution can be made by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation?" It is satisfactory to realize that our war policy has been vindicated by the action of the British Government and that Canada is gradually being forced to take similar action. But we are in a position to make an even more important contribution to the winning of the war and the winning of the peace which must follow.

It is an over simplification to describe this war merely as "a struggle between two rival 'imperialisms'". Such an attitude only gives encouragement to the most dangerous and sinister imperialism the world has ever known—Nazism. If we are ever to achieve the objective of democratic socialism, we shall have to fight Hitlerism at every turn—externally in the mechanized hordes that threaten to crush Europe and internally in the huge undemocratic corporations which seek to secure complete monopolistic control of our economic life.

It is true that war never has and never will solve problems. But war sometimes removes the obstacles which stand in the way of their solution. War may accelerate social changes. The revolutionary changes that have taken place in Britain would not have been possible except for England's great peril. In a few days changes took place which ordinarily would have taken years. In a few months of war the claim that only big-business men can run a government was exploded. The Baldwins and Chamberlains proved woefully ineffective. They have shown conclusively that big business cannot be trusted to run a government with democratic objectives.

In Britain's greatest hour of peril since the Spanish Armada, the big-business men were thrust aside by the greatest democratic institution on earth—the British Parliament. Labor intellectuals like Bevin, Morrison and Attlee were called upon to introduce into the industrial life of Britain policies similar to those advocated by the C.C.F. in Canada. With Churchill, the Labor leaders have risen to the occasion and have wrought almost miraculous changes that have given Britain new vigor and new hope.

The war raging in Europe today is the visible aspect of a desperate struggle which is rending the whole world—a war between the democratic and fascist ways of life. An unseen phase of this struggle is taking place within every country. Canada is not exempt. Powerful

groups in our civilization use secret efforts to gain victory without openly fighting for it. It is these subtle methods of winning victory for the fascist way in our national life which the C.C.F. must counter with all its energy.



Long before the present European conflict began, democracy had been assailed as possessing certain inherent weaknesses. Democracy was held to be inadequate to meet the demands of modern life. Big-business saw in democratic political institutions a threat to its control of economic life. Large sections of the big-business class were attracted to the advantages of dictatorship. Big-business has long fought every extension of democracy.

Technological advances and the consequent economic changes made the development of huge corporations inevitable. These were undemocratically controlled and resented any interference by democratic political controls. As economic power became concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people, the conflict became more intense. An impossible situation has developed. On the one hand great corporate monopolies use every possible means to prevent government intervention in their profits and loosening of their grip upon the economic life of the nation. On the other hand, increasing numbers of citizens realize that state power can bring about profound revolutionary changes in economic and political institutions and there is a growing demand for public ownership. The nation cannot continue to be half democratic and half autocratic. One or the other must prevail.

The struggle within Italy and Germany resulted in complete victory for the fascist way. Weaker democratically-inclined neighbors have been blitzkrieged into the same camp. Once powerful France has collapsed because she failed to extend democracy to the economic realm. Great Britain was forced to make a quick decision by the terrific onslaught of the Nazi dictator. The swing in Britain is away from irresponsible private economic control. Canada may be hesitating on the brink of a similar swing. She must act as Britain did if she is to make the contribution in this struggle which is commensurate with her resources. Private corporations and their controlled press in Canada hope that the trend towards government control is only temporary and that the status quo will be restored after the war.

It is the work of the C.C.F. to prevent any such reactionary catastrophe. Our objective must be to vigilantly preserve democracy in politics, to vigorously de-

mand socialism in economics, to insist upon scientific planning in administration, and to place human values highest in our culture. As we attain these ends we shall be making democracy a reality in Canada. We shall be giving Canada the vigor and vitality which should characterize a nation of virile people. No nation suffering the pangs of internal strife between fascism and democracy can be healthy. The fascist elements of our national life must be eradicated. Only then can Canada become unified and only then can we attain full nationhood.

We believe in the democratic way of life and devote ourselves to achieving it in every phase of our national life. This is our task. It would seem that there is not room in the same world for both fascist and democratic nations. And since it is only when nations have become democratic that peoples of differing race can live happily together, our choice must be for a world of democratic nations. The solution of the world problem may be a "League of Democracies".

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The Front *Abroad* and at *Home*

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by MARY R. CRAWFORD, Provincial Treasurer of the C.C.F.

CANADIANS have two victories to win; a military victory against Hitler and a social and economic victory within our own borders. A year ago today we were clinging to the radio listening with bated breath to the approach of the storm, hoping to the last minute that a fresh breeze of sanity would blow up from somewhere and scatter the clouds. There was no breeze. For months the skies grew darker with an occasional roar and flash. Then the storm broke. Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France have succumbed to its fury. And today as the deadline for The People's Weekly Labor Annual approaches we are again in suspense. Has the Krieg lost most of its blitz or is this just a lull? Is the worst yet to come? Watchman, what of the night? If you who read this journal are in the doldrums it may be good for you to know that others have been in much the same condition. It is a state of inertia compounded of disillusionment, bewilderment and a sense of unreality shot through with panic. The drone of an airplane motor overhead has no effect on us here; it is just one of our own boys. If it meant that a bomb was likely to drop and send our house crumbling about our ears it might shock us into an awareness of what is actually going on in the world. Even imagination cannot be a substitute for experience.

A year ago Britain, too, was asleep. Then a few began to see, a few here, a few there. They sounded the clarion call: "Britain Awake". There is no need of that today; the British are alert in all their senses. But Canada slumbers on. True, we declared war promptly; we are training and equipping for all the fighting services; we have a substantial war budget; we submit to heavy taxes, almost, we embrace them. But what of our attitude? What is the "spiritual posture" of the great bulk of Canadian people who continue to go about at their customary daily tasks? What is the man on the street really thinking and feeling, the man in the twenties, thirties or forties? P. M. Richards in "Saturday Night" of August 17 describes him in these words: "The man in the street, made thoroughly aware of the shortcomings of democracy by the long years of business depression followed by the unchecked aggressions of nations which have adopted authoritarianism, is disposed to believe that salvation lies only in a wide and permanent extension of the powers of government accompanied by limitation of individual rights, particularly those relating to business." That, of course, is anathema to the financial editor of "Saturday Night". The important thing, however, is that

such a state of mind exists. These young men are paralyzed by a sense of futility. They remember or they have learned something about the last war. They say that war settles nothing. They remind us that the last war was presumably fought in defence of democracy but that in the verdict of history it was largely a rivalry of imperialisms. This cynicism needs to be traced to its source and reckoned with.

The soldiers of 1914-18 are not to blame. They won the war. They did their bit. Nor is it adequate to attribute all our troubles to the peace settlement. Admittedly, the political situation was left dangling in the air at the mercy of every fitful breeze because of the failure to provide a sound foundation of economic settlement. But political democracies were set up in Europe and a League of Nations was established which contained in its covenant provision for "the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world." There was the machinery for constant correction of

blunders, for making the changes appropriate to changing conditions and thereby for keeping the peace and improving the democracy that had been saved.

What happened? Inertia fastened its paralyzing grip upon us and we threw away our opportunity. Did the electors give informed support to the League of Nations? Did we spread the gospel of collective security? Did we insist that our elected representatives take a definite stand on foreign affairs? We did not. The International Labor Office was formed as an integral part of the League of Nations on the principle that there can be no enduring peace except it be based on social justice. Did we use our vote to implement that principle in practice? For answer, look about you. Jennie Lee, a member of the British House of Commons in the 1920's visited this country in 1932. Here is her impression:

"Well, here was Canada, 5,694,845 square miles, a population of under twelve millions. Short of colonizing the moon, no state could hope to have more territory at its disposal, yet wherever I went I was finding poverty and unemployment."

There is no place to which to shift the responsibility. In 1918 the self-governing Dominions were co-partners with Britain in the direction of Commonwealth foreign policy. If that group had stood together it could have been such a powerful force for sanity and decency in international affairs that the League of Nations and all it stands for might have survived. Canada is the senior Dominion, she had suffered less than Brit-



ain during the war. She should have given a lead. We let the opportunity slip through our fingers not so much through wrong thinking as through no thinking at all. It is profitless to blame the governments of the day. We have the vote. We elect people to represent us and they represent us. The only thing to do with governments is to defeat them.

We owe it to the younger generation to admit our failure. It will clear the air. But we should hasten to remind them that cynicism alone will avail them nothing. Unless they are prepared to come to grips with the realities of the present, unless they are prepared to take up the torch and carry on from where we left off, they should not point the finger of scorn at our inadequacy. We do not need to eulogize war to admit that it does sometimes jolt people out of their inertia, provide an energizing and unifying force and sweep away what appear to be permanent obstacles to progress. It drives people to quick action, forces them to deal with conditions and events on the spot and so creates the political climate essential to social change. This war is offering us a second chance.

Then there are those who experienced the war of 1914-18 and having endured all the slings and arrows of the outrageous fortune of the past 20 years now seek refuge from the stark reality of the present chaos in an olympian aloofness which rests in the easy faith that "somehow, good will be the final end of all", that democracy will survive, and that a better world will emerge from the present agony. Perhaps it will in the long, long run. But we and our children and our children's children live in the short run. If Hitlerism is permitted to clamp down on the rest of the Western world as it has done in Europe, it would take a century of suffering, misery and civil war to restore democracy even to the point to which it had evolved by 1940. We can scarcely afford to run away from that.

These attitudes of disillusionment and detachment prevalent in Canada compare very unfavorably with the spiritual vigor of the British people today if the daily reports from the BBC mean anything at all. According to J. B. Priestley the British are "far more alive than they have ever been before. They are awake and on the march to a better way of living . . . There is an awakening demand for a better quality of living accompanied by a most stupendous war effort. People are growing visibly in mental and moral stature." What has happened? For the past ten years the leaders of the democracies have huddled about the corpse of a laissez-faire economy, so absorbed in trying to beat life into it that they were insensible of the disease spreading in the body politic in the form of unemployment, under-privilege and frustration. Occasionally they cast an anxious look at the international weather and hoped that should Armageddon come the unorganized could survive. Meanwhile Hitler stepped into a situation ripe for action and raised himself to power by duplicity in his dealing with one group of the bewildered and disheartened people. Then with ruthless logic he swept away every vestige of democracy and organized with a vengeance for imperial expansion that the Prussian junkers may still have the fruits of the land and the Krupps their profits. He now rides the tiger.

At the eleventh hour, with their backs to the wall and confronted by this deadly peril, the British people

faced the facts. They saw that a war was on between two diametrically opposed ways of life and that to defend democracy against fascism they had to match Fascist logic with democratic logic, Fascist efficiency for ignoble ends with democratic efficiency for a higher purpose. To make democracy worth defending and capable of self-defence they had to give it meaning and content in all their ways of life. The marginal vote of

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confidence accorded the Chamberlain government under the shadow of the Norway catastrophe showed that there are British Tories who love their England and the liberties bequeathed to them better than they love their class privileges. They preferred to keep both, but when faced with a choice they stood by their principles. That is patriotism. A few weeks more, and the upstart aristocrats of soap and jam had surrendered the leadership to the real aristocrat Churchill with centuries of history in his blood, and the leaders of labor with centuries of struggle for democracy as their background.

Then, almost overnight, the scene was transformed; the war became everybody's war. Equality of sacrifice, 100 per cent taxation of excess profits, maintenance of social services, security and a standard of living for all—these principles were rapidly written into the law. It is reminiscent of the days of the French Revolution when in an all night session of the National Assembly, the aristocrats vied with each other in voting away the feudal privileges of centuries. The task is by no means done. It is just begun. There will be many a struggle yet with those who have not yet caught the spirit. But the eyes of England are turned toward the dawn and she will carry on the war on two fronts at once against Hitler on land and sea and in the air and against Hitlerism in the national economy. So it is too in New Zealand. They are supporting Britain to the maximum in the war and at the same time are continuing their effort to bring democracy into the homes and lives of all the people. Their recent war budget provides for the taking by the nation of all excess profits during the war period.

Now, if we turn from admiring our mother and our sister and take up the mirror how does Canada appear? Headlines from the press of the past few days are straws that show how the wind is blowing. Farmers' Plight Desperate: Canada Packers' Profits Greater: Expect Fight Relief Slash: University of Alberta Raises Fees. The concentration of wealth control goes on. The profiteers have still 25 per cent of their excess profits, social services are strangled for lack of funds, taxation for a single person starts at \$600 and yet there are hundreds of thousands of workers below taxation level. While we train, prepare and produce to defend democracy on the military front, we are surrendering all along the line on the home front.

Over and over again in the past year we have met persons who contend that we should not talk of peace aims now and that we should dim the lights on our shortcomings in internal affairs lest we detract from the war effort. We had beter be on guard against that sort of thing. We do not need to import Fascism and the fifth column into Canada, we can produce them right here on our own soil. "And for pity's sake, whatever else you do don't try to end the argument by saying: 'It can't happen here'. That is the noose in which many an innocent's body has dangled in the prison-houses of reaction." (W. H. Alexander, Labor Annual, 1936). The obvious answer, of course, is that it is imperative for us to follow the inspiring example of Britain and demonstrate democracy in action in all phases of our national life. That is the dynamic we need in Canada today, a conviction that we can organize an economy as well as Hitler can but that we choose to do it for nobler ends. It is the only way to give our people

a positive ideal for which to struggle, to fight and if need be, to die. Put that into motion and our effort on the military front will take care of itself.

This is the most urgent problem in Canada today. There are many of us who are of little use in the actual physical war. Our end of the quarrel with the foe is on the home front. Our task is to banish poverty and insecurity from the land and make every citizen feel not only that he belongs to Canada but that Canada belongs to him. We must win this war on both fronts, for unless we win on the home front we shall ultimately lose on both.

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BRITISH MINISTER OF ECONOMIC WARFARE: HUGH DALTON

SIXTEEN years ago when Hugh Dalton first entered the House of Commons his chief motive was to prevent a war ever breaking out again. War, he believed, was not inevitable, could be prevented. And politics was the instrument of prevention. His hatred of war was founded in part upon his own personal experience of it. He joined the R.A.S.C. at the outset of the last war. He found it dull and joined the R.A. He fought with British batteries on the Italian front. In the retreat after Caporetto he brought the last three British guns back, over river after river. For that he may wear the little blue ribbon of the Italian Medal for Military Valor.

So it is easy enough to see why Hugh Dalton's two-and-a-quarter years as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Labor Government of 1929-31 were the hardest and the happiest of his life. Arthur Henderson, a great man, was Foreign Secretary. The Etonian and the old iron moulder worked in a perfect companionship that was equally creditable to both.

Looked up to from the dark valley down which we march today, their achievement seems to shine as part of another world.

They renewed diplomatic relations with the U.S. S.R., ruptured by the preceding Conservative Government. They negotiated the simultaneous evacuation of the Rhineland by British, French and Belgian troops, five years ahead of the Treaty of Versailles time-table. They signed the "Optional Clause" and accepted the General Act of Arbitration at Geneva, so committing Britain to settle all her disputes by predetermined peaceful procedures. They made British foreign policy pivot on the League. They negotiated, with others, the London Naval Treaty, limiting in every class of ship the three greatest navies in the world. And when the Government fell, they were preparing for the Disarmament Conference.

In that 1931 election—the issues were wholly domestic—both Henderson and Dalton lost their seats. Dalton went back to teach economics and public finance at the London School of Economics, the staff of which he had joined after the war. And he seized the freedom from office to write "Practical Socialism for Britain," the best book there is on the mind and programme of the British Labor Party.

In 1933 came Hitler. It says something for Dalton's political courage and even more for his diplomatic perspicacity that at once he sensed not merely the challenge

but also the danger. From the beginning he believed peace with Hitler to be impossible except on one condition—that emphatic superiority of arms was securely in the hands of the peaceful states. To believe so was one thing, to persuade others another.

His heart full of bitter regrets at the swerve away from peace, his mind full of the dangers to "this little pocket of British soil" and the British peoples through the world, he set methodically to work to bring the Labor Party round to accept rearmament—an odd task for this man whose hatred of war was a political mainspring.

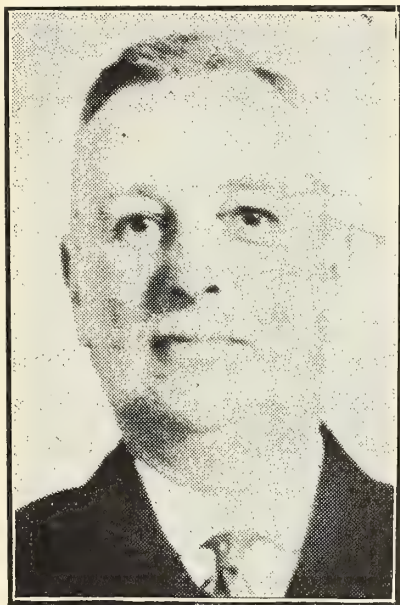
At first there were few who shared his views save a group of young Labor men of no influence, and trade unionists who, for the most part, were not members of the Parliamentary Labor Party—with which the decision lay. But he had persistence, good health, and a gift for playing his political cards which is as infuriating to his opponents as it is the best of fun to his friends.

In 1935 came the first big effort. An attempt was made to persuade the Labor Party at least to refrain from voting against rearmament. It was defeated. Next year, the party still voted against the Estimates. Dalton abstained. In 1937 the turn came. Labor ceased to oppose rearmament. And that year, from his chairman's seat at the annual conference of the Labor Party at Bournemouth, Dalton said:

"This Government must be swept from office, and the whole spirit and direction of our foreign policy changed. But in this most grim situation, not of the Labor Party's making, our country must be powerfully armed. Otherwise we run risks immediate and immeasurable. Otherwise a British Labor Government, coming into power tomorrow, would be in danger of humiliations, intimidations, and acts of intervention in our national affairs which it is not tolerable to contemplate."

Wise words. But the avalanche was moving.

Dalton's "chairman's year" in the Labor Party was memorable for other reasons. He was chairman of the Distressed Areas Commission appointed by the Party to focus attention on poverty and unemployment in South Wales, the North East and North West, Lancashire, and Central Scotland, and to lay down detailed programmes of reconstruction. The Immediate Program of the Party was issued. Reforms in the constitution of the Party were proposed and accepted which represented a conciliation between the divisional La-



bor parties and the trade unions. His part in formulating them and securing their acceptance was such that they might well be called the Dalton Reforms.

This conciliation throws a powerful beam of light on one of Dalton's major qualities. This is his sense of the team, his instinctive feeling for unity (not for uniformity) as the very condition of any effective political achievement. It is partly because of this that his range of friendships inside the trade union movement far exceeds that of any other intellectual in the Party. It is partly because of this that he has sought out and encouraged young men in the Labor Party, so that there is no one in whose debt they stand more deeply. Partly, I say; because a great part is also due to a large fund of natural affection. He has, too, a disarming quality of geniality. Once, on a warm spring day during a 1922 by-election in Cambridge, he was standing outside a village pub. A true-blue local walked up to him, brandishing a pint mug of beer. "You're just a — Bolshevik," declaimed the local. "Bet you can't drink this in one go." The bet was accepted—and won.

From the autumn of the Bournemouth Conference until the autumn of 1939, two years later, Dalton was active, energising, creative. But his friends rarely found him free from a sense of impending tragedy.

He spent a good deal of time shifting soil, planting shrubs and trees (Stevenson's remark that "trees are the most civil society" is a favourite with him—curiously so, for he is immensely fond of human society) and walking over the chalk downs around his small white modern house in the Wiltshire Downs, on the building of which, as a home for them both, his wife and friend Ruth Dalton lavished such care.

Probably he had not known such tranquility since his early childhood, when his father was Canon of St. George's, Windsor, and young Hugh used to attend children's parties which were attended, sometimes, by Queen Victoria also. An early dialogue between Dalton and the Queen, at one of these parties, is perhaps worth recording:

Queen: "What a lot of grapes you have!"

Hugh Dalton: "Yes, Queen."

Queen: "I suppose you would like me to go so you could eat them."

Hugh Dalton: "Yes, Queen."

Queen (aside): "What a loud voice the child has. Just like his father."

During this period, also, Dalton went to Australia and promptly fell in love with that enchanting place, discovering also a political hero in Forgan Smith, Labor Premier of Queensland, the man who has led his Party to victory in three succeeding elections.

And what now?

This man, at once a technical economist of some note, an ex-junior minister, with wide experience and a record of success in foreign affairs, and a political leader in his own right, has been called to fill a post of heavy responsibility at a time of grave danger. Fortunately the post to which he has been called is one which supremely suits his talents. As Minister of Economic Warfare, his combination of economic training and diplomatic experience is precisely the qualification required. And it is here, many think, that the war against Hitlerism will ultimately be won. Robert Fraser—"Picture Post."

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UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, DISTRICT 18

ERNEST BEVIN, MINISTER OF LABOR

ERNEST BEVIN, for many years the most powerful single figure in the British Labor movement as General Secretary of the great Transport and General Workers' Union, takes office as Minister of Labor. There is no man better qualified for the job. He knows the men and women he has to deal with and the everyday problems that face them both in peace and war better than any parliamentary politician. His own life has not been easy. He was born in the Somersetshire village of Winsford 59 years ago. He went to work at the age of eleven—on a farm, and at a wage of sixpence a week. Later, he drifted into Bristol, and got a job as a carter driving a milk float for a restaurant. In Bristol he also found his career. He became interested in trade unionism, and joined the Carters' section of the local branch of the Dockers' Union. He was soon a minor official and attracting the attention of the pioneer unionist Ben Tillet, who advised him to take up union organization as a full-time job. The advice was taken. Bevin became successively branch secretary, district secretary, national organizer, and assistant general secretary of the Dockers' Union. He first came to London after the war to assist in the amalgamation of the Transport Workers' Union and the Transport Workers' Federation. He acted as Ben Tillet's right-hand man throughout the negotiations, and in 1922 he became the first general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. In the succeeding years he has built up its strength, until it became the formidable all-embracing combination of which his old chief had always dreamed.

Such are the bare bones of Ernest Bevin's career as an organizer of labor. But a man does not often come to lead a mass organization by efficiency and drive alone. Nor did Bevin. He first got a hold on popular imagination at the Transport Workers' Court of Inquiry in February, 1920, where he spoke for eleven hours on the dockers' claim for better pay and conditions. The case he put was masterly, compelling and unanswerable. The dockers got their rise, and Ernest Bevin won the well-earned title of the "Dockers' K.C." It has never been forgotten. "You should read for the 'Bar,'" a famous barrister told him afterwards. "No," Bevin replied, "I can only argue with conviction when I am sincere."

Ernest Bevin was never under any illusions as to what Nazi power meant. As long ago as January, 1934, he was publicly stating "Fascism, if persisted in, will lead to war and disaster, for it does not offer any solution to the economic problems of the people. Starvation and unemployment increase under it. Its principal weapons are tyranny, corruption, depressing the standard of life, destruction of freedom and an attempt to stabilize the classes."

Bevin is a man who knows his own mind, and is not afraid of opposition. He has been attacked from the right, he has been attacked from the left, and has won the inevitable libel action against the Communist "Daily Worker", which various union leaders have taken at one time or another. He does not pull his punches. As a

negotiator, who is probably second to none in the history of Labor, he has always used the strike weapon as sparingly as possible. "I conceive it to be my duty," he once said, "as leader of this great union, that if I can accomplish what the men desire without the loss of a single meal to a single child, then I ought to do so."

Of all the members of the T.U.C., Ernest Bevin has been the least given to making political speeches. The strong speech he made on May Day this year was, therefore, all the stronger. It had two results. It hastened the reorganization of the government, for Bevin's voice is a powerful one, and he speaks for half a million men organized in the largest trade union in the world. It also made his inclusion in any new government almost inevitable.

"We have no right to allow the lives of our soliders and sailors to be played with," he said. "The time has come when there must be no mincing of words."

"It is no use disguising the fact that ever since this war broke out, those who, like myself, have been constantly in touch with government departments, are intensely dissatisfied with the kind of obstruction, lack of drive, absence of imagination, and the kind of complacency which exists.

"Then there is a complete refusal to take into consideration the kind of foe we are meeting."

He compared this country to the old boxing champion who had won so many times, that he said to himself, "Who is this young challenger? I can knock him out in my own time," and then woke up to find himself in danger of being knocked out, and a new champion arising.

"I am afraid," he said, "that the kind of middle-class mentality which actuates both those responsible for strategy and government, has little knowledge of the new psychology and organizing ability of the people in charge of the totalitarian states.

"Let them never forget that the forces we are fighting are governed neither by the old strategy nor follow the old tactics.

"Mechanization of war is such that we cannot afford mistakes. We cannot afford incompetence.

"Our soldiers and sailors have all the courage in the world, but they are entitled to equipment, mechanization and training at least equal to and better than, that of the other side."

Such is Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor. Warm-hearted, capable, shrewd and hard-hitting. His first speech after his appointment was forthright and to the point—typical of Bevin. "I hope the War Cabinet will not allow vested interests, profits, or anything else to stand in the way of maximum production. If this is the policy of the Government, I will ask my people to work like hell to save the lives of our lads." And later in the same speech he said, "The position is critical and violent, and will require tremendous energy." He is right, and the tremendous energy of Ernest Bevin will do much to help the Cabinet deal with a critical and violent situation.—"Picture Post", June 1, 1940.

LABOR DEFENDS DEMOCRACY

[Continued from Page Four]

are hampered in this by the neglect to organize our employment service to enable it to function properly. This can now be done under the provisions of the newly enacted Unemployment Insurance Bill and the more rapidly it is accomplished, the sooner will the service be in a position to bring the man and the job together.

To do this, it is necessary that information be gathered as to the immediate requirements of wartime industries and also of those of the near future. In this work trades unions can lend valuable aid if given proper representation on the national, regional and local advisory committees which the new Act provides shall be set up as part of the machinery of the employment service. An additional channel through which an efficient labor supply can often be secured with the least delay is through the business agents and officers of the trade union movement, and the offer of the full use of this machinery should be freely and frankly accepted by employers.

While these things are essential, attention should also be paid to the advisability of limiting consumption of what might be roughly designated as non-essentials or luxuries. In this respect care must be exercised that no obstacles are placed in the way of those who, as a result of long years of unemployment or short time work have been compelled to live on the verge of destitution, now seek to provide themselves with the ordinary necessities of a decent standard of living.

But above this far too numerous class there are many who can well postpone their purchases of non-essentials until the war is won. To achieve this it is not necessary or advisable to seek either wage reductions or introduce a scheme such as that advocated by Professor Keynes of compulsory savings. One form of savings which workers have declared themselves as willing to accept are the contributions demanded from them for unemployment insurance. Though several months will elapse before the full benefits of unemployment insurance can be operative, it is a great satisfaction that the constitutional difficulties to the enactment of this measure has been removed and such an act now placed on the statute books. The accumulation of this protective fund while unemployment is at a minimum will serve as a first line of defence when the inevitable unemployment consequent upon the transfer back from a wartime to peacetime economy occurs. In the meantime, the money thus contributed is not withdrawn from circulation but by its investment in Government securities, it will serve to provide for the purchase of war materials, the manufacture of which in turn results in more employment.

The contribution made to this fund will, however, provide a very limited avenue for those in a position to save. It is here that the voluntary saving scheme made possible by the sale of war saving stamps and certificates comes into the picture. Every dollar placed at

the disposal of the Government in this way is a protection against a rapid rise in prices especially of non-essential goods which will undoubtedly be produced in decreasing volume as the war continues. While giving the Government money to spend in the furthering of the war effort, it places in the hands of the individual a cushion of purchasing power which will be invaluable when the war ends, as end it must sooner or later.

Over and above all, it is again reiterated that every endeavour must be exerted to avoid stoppage of work in war industries, and given the proper spirit of willingness on the part of employers to recognize the right of workers to organize and to accept their organizations as the medium of reaching agreement on matters at issue, comparatively few difficulties that cannot be immediately adjusted should occur. When this does happen, however, then immediate recourse should be had to the Government services of investigation and conciliation as a means of reaching a fair settlement of the dispute.

As soon as war was declared last September, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada made known to the Federal Government its willingness to accept an extension of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act to wartime industries as a means of avoiding unnecessary conflict.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that our defence forces depend on an uninterrupted supply of food, munitions and equipment and anything less than this should not be thought of. To carry this out, all partners in industry must play their part. Profits have no place in this life and death struggle in which we are now engaged. Neither is it the time to refuse to frankly recognize that while capital and management are essential to industry, those who actually perform the day by day operations are equally important. Proper industrial relations, significant as they are for the smooth operation of industry in peacetime, become all important in times of war.

Where, therefore, such are not established by co-operation between employers and workers, it becomes the duty of the Government to see that failure to do so does not interfere with the volume of production essential both to meet the requirements of war and as far as may be possible, the maintenance of decent standards of living.

Labor realizes full well that to lose the war is to lose all, and for that reason will readily respond to any justifiable call for action. It has a right, however, to be assured that in doing so its patriotism is not being exploited to needlessly break down conditions that it has taken the organized workers more than half a century to build up.

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Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by

WILLIAM GREEN, President, American Federation of Labor

THE unfortified border between the United States of America and the Dominion of Canada is mute evidence of the trust and community of interests which exists between the citizens of these two nations of the Western Hemisphere. The welfare of the workers of one country is the concern of the wage earners of the other. Standards of life and work evolved for the wage earners of the United States or Canada have a bearing on similar conditions for those of the other country.

Acceptance of the tenets of the Monroe Doctrine proclaiming the intention of the United States to guard the affairs of the nations of the Western Hemisphere against foreign invasion and interference erected a protecting arm around those nations which are separated from the rest of the world by vast oceans. The citizens of Canada and those of the United States are related also by natural ties. They speak the same language, have similar ideals of culture and relative values in life, and through comparative isolation from the other nations of the world have grown more and more alike in their modes of living. Reciprocal agreements and treaties have functioned without friction between the governments of these two nations, protecting the mutual interests of all.

There is a very strong bond between the trade union movements of the two neighbor countries. Many of the affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor have local unions in Canada. It is not uncommon for the conventions of the A. F. of L. international unions to take place in the Dominion of Canada, and four times the conventions of the American Federation of Labor itself have been held within your borders. Each year fraternal delegates are exchanged between our respective trade union movements—the American Federation of Labor and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Your country, as a part of the far-flung British Empire, is involved in the war which is now raging overseas. Any war brings its full measure of grief and loss, both economic and in man-power. The workers of the United States view the suffering of our neighbors with compassion and deepest sympathy. We are too close to the last World War not to realize at least in some degree the irreparable loss which any nation sustains through warfare. If the actual fighting ceased this moment it would take years of readjustment before really normal conditions could be established. The loss in life, of course, can never be compensated for. Homes which have been broken through loss of father or son strike a responsive chord in the hearts of thinking people everywhere. As additional evidence of the bond which exists between the people of our two countries,

thousands of citizens of the United States have opened their homes to refugee children from Great Britain who are in need of care and education in order to carry on their lives.

The United States is committed to a policy of support in every way possible "short of war" for the Allied cause, and the workers of the United States stand 100 per cent back of our government in whatever position it takes in international affairs. Thus there is forged still another link between the workers of the English speaking countries of Canada and the United States.

In connection with the activities of the American labor movement, however, I think it pertinent to point out just what our attitude is toward the defense measures being carried out in the United States. The American Federation of Labor believes that there is no need or justification for a lowering of working and living standards which have been established through years of effort.

The members of organized labor in the United States are wholly patriotic and stand ready and willing to make any needed sacrifice for our country. We have learned through experience, however, that lowering the standards of life for the workers of a nation ultimately works to the detriment of that nation and not to its advantage. Workers are consumers and if a balance is to be retained between production and consumption, buying power must be maintained and not curtailed. We learned through experience during the last World War that appeals to patriotism of the workers that they abandon established work conditions in favor of longer hours or less pay for work performed, where not absolutely necessary, will ultimately react against employers, workers, and the general public as well.

In all nations, at all times, there will be found unscrupulous persons who are ever alert to take advantage of every opportunity presented to break down work conditions to their own advantage. We do not propose to be victimized by such unpatriotic interests. It is always the workers who are called upon to make sacrifices in times of war and we are ready and willing to take up our responsibility in every way necessary. At the same time we are seeking a voice in the determination of policies and representation on agencies responsible for the administration of defense measures in order that Labor's interests may be protected.



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TRADE UNIONISM AT WAR

[Continued from Page One]

time. This was an idea which we had worked out and put forward some months before, with the approval of a Special Conference of Trade Union Executives. The Committee consisted of fifteen representatives of the Trades Union Congress, and an equal number from the British Employers' Confederation, and its function was to keep things running smoothly by securing a uniformity of wages and conditions approximating to the best standards.

Among the topics with which it dealt were labor supply and distribution, reserved occupations, the

working of the Control of Employment Act, wage fixing machinery, and the setting up of negotiating machinery in industries not fully organized from a trade union point of view.

When, with the change of Government, Mr. Ernest Bevin (head of the Transport and General Workers' Union, and a member of the Trades Union Congress General Council) became Minister of Labor and National Service, he appointed a Joint Consultative Committee, after consultation with the T.U.C., which has supplemented the work of the Joint Advisory Council by dealing with such matters as require immediate action arising out of recent legislation. This Committee has seven members from each side, and plays an important part in advising on the many problems which have to be handled in speeding up production.

At the first meeting of the Committee Mr. Bevin asked us to advise him how best to deal with wage problems so that there should be no holding up of production through industrial disputes. It was finally left to a drafting Committee of three (Sir John Forbes Watson, of the British Employers' Confederation, Sir Thomas Phillips, of the Ministry of Labor, and myself) to draft recommendations which were accepted by the Minister. Briefly, these proposals were that wage negotiations should be carried on through the regular machinery, and where agreement could not be reached, the difficulty should be settled by a National Arbitration Tribunal to be appointed by the Minister of Labor.

Other questions on which the Committee has advised the Minister are measures to ensure that trade union practices temporarily abandoned should be restored after the war, and holidays in war time.

Labor supply problems are handled by a Central Labor Supply Board functioning through local Labor Supply Committees. Working in association with these is a network of area committees whose primary function is to discover and to harness new capacity for the production of munitions. The Trade Union Movement is represented on all these bodies.

Trade Unionism is also well represented on bodies set up to assist in the production of munitions, and has been able to render valuable assistance to the authorities in the technical task of distributing skilled and semi-skilled labor to the best advantage.

While giving all possible aid to the national war effort, the Movement has not been forgetful of its ordinary tasks, the due performance of which is essential to its continued existence as an integral part of the democratic structure of the country. It is certainly of vital importance at this juncture that the Trade Unions should keep their machinery in first class working order, in view of the tremendous tasks which must devolve on us at the end of the war.

The past year has put a heavy strain on the Trade Union Movement. It has stood that strain magnificently. In its response to the calls made upon it we can see the best auguries of an ultimate victory for those ideals of justice and liberty on which it was first founded.

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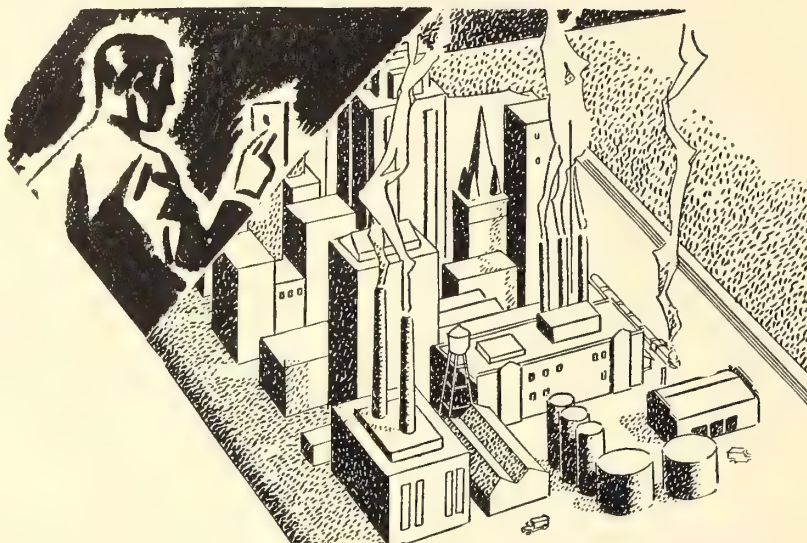
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LABOR GIVES A LEAD

Written for the Alberta Labor Annual by CARL E. BERG, President, Edmonton Trades and Labor Council
and Secretary, Alberta Federation of Labor

LABOR DAY, 1940, finds the Trade Union movement throughout the world facing the most severe challenge and test that it has ever had to withstand. Labor in Canada at its last convention following along the line of policy established at previous conventions, definitely took its stand in support of the forces of democracy as against the forces of Dictatorship. It further promised our government and the workers of Britain its unwavering support in the prosecution of the war against the aggressor nations to the end that the threat of aggression may be removed for all time, and that democratic privileges, institutions and rights may be restored to the people now suffering under the heel of dictatorship. We further declared "that in order that the full resources of the country may be utilized for achievement of victory, it is essential that profiteering and greed must be eliminated in the production of the sinews of war, and the supply and distribution of home requirements; to this end we urged that the machinery of production of wealth of the nation be mobilized to serve the country's interest instead of those of individuals and corporations so that there will be an equitable contribution on the part of capital comparable to that of the sacrifice of human life.."

This declaration was made in September of last year so that there should be no doubt in the minds of our people either in Canada or throughout the world, just where Canadian Labor fitted in and what our position would be as the struggle grew in intensity. In repeating this declaration in part I do so because of the fact that this Annual reaches quite a number of readers who have not had an opportunity of reading our official records, and since the daily press did not give the space to these declarations to which they were entitled.

Again, it may be recalled that in 1937 I was the official delegate to the British Trades Union Congress and at that time the leaders of our movement could foresee the struggle that lay ahead. I then on behalf of the Canadian workers made the solemn promise "that should the time ever come when the British workers in their defence of democracy and the rights of the workers in any land should be in need of our assistance and help, that this would be readily given." Quite naturally I was very much elated therefore when our Trades Congress a year ago went on record as it did almost unanimously, thus implementing the promises I gave to the British workers two years previously.

Our movement has consistently given its support to any and all efforts to lend aid to the Motherland and give service to our nation. Our boys and members can be found on every front, in every activity undertaken in factories and industries on land and sea as well as in the air. Our women folk too are wholeheartedly ac-

cepting our resolution of service and sacrifice, each doing their bit, all to the end that democracy shall prevail and that the workers may be able to continue to enjoy those privileges that our ancestors fought for and which we as a free people inherited.

No class of people are so fully aware of what a defeat of the forces of democracy would really mean to mankind as are the Trade Unionists.

Every right we enjoy today, even our present educational system which makes it possible for our youngsters to become educated men and women; all our living standards and whatever there is good in present day society for the workers were obtained at great sacrifices to the Trade Unionist it is true—but nevertheless obtained under democracy. It has never, and could never have been obtained under any other system.

Democracy provides the medium through which we can change this economic system into whatever form we ourselves desire in a constitutional way. If under this system poverty exists in the midst of plenty, it is really our own fault in the first place. Time and education and knowledge will right such wrongs if the advice given by the Trade Union leaders is heeded. And the very fact that such great improvements have taken place in our time and the examples set in those countries where Trade Unions under democracy have flourished are ample evidence of what can be accomplished.

And so we will continue to organize our forces for the defence of what we believe is essential to the welfare and progress of mankind, giving succor to our unfortunate brothers and sisters in those countries who have succumbed to the reign of terror imposed by dictators of every hue and variety.

It is a tribute to Labor that when the crisis grew acute in England that the leaders of the Trade Unions were called into the inner councils of the Government. Knowing such men as Ernest Bevin, Hugh Dalton and others personally as we do, knowing them as the most capable, efficient and trustworthy leaders that the Brit-



ish Labor movement has produced, we can understand why they were called upon at a time like this and why British Labor and the British people generally are putting their all into the great struggle confronting them and why they will fight on with that bulldog determination peculiar to the British people. In the outcome of that fight rests the destiny of our movement. This fact is known to all Labor organizations, and should need no further explanation, than to say—Free Trade Unions do not exist in any of the dictatorship countries, only Labor Fronts of various kinds which serve to keep the workers in a state of oppression and as spy agencies of the state against rebellious slaves.

And so, as a movement which traditionally abhors wars—Labor Day, 1940, finds our movement one of the chief bulwarks in defence of democracy against the dictatorship and aggressor nations. It is ready to give its all in defence of a system which while not all we desire, nevertheless we believe if permitted to exist and function will allow our movement also to continue to function for the protection of those rights and principles we believe in and under which we will ultimately bring about an orderly change which will bring freedom, justice and prosperity to mankind that will be the most beneficial to the world's producers, and the like of which can not be obtained under any other now existing form of government. Labor has been the most consistent foe to all forms of dictatorship and will continue so to the end. That includes "comrades" Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and all the "knitts".



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To Preserve Democracy and Prevent Aggression

[Continued from Page Eleven]

ensure the operation of these industries, not for the profit of a small group but for the welfare of all those engaged in them. In the meantime the Government should enforce its own trade union legislation—secured last session by the persistent efforts of Mr. Woodsworth and his group together with the co-operation of organized labor—against employers who refuse to make collective agreements with their workers.

Angus MacInnis, outspoken in his determination that this war must not result in making the rich richer and the poor poorer, opposed taxing incomes as low as \$600 for single persons and \$1,200 for married couples, declaring it both unjust and uneconomical to force living standards below these levels. As in past sessions he pressed the Government for a policy to deal adequately with unemployment instead of the small hand-to-mouth legislation. He was the C.C.F. representative on the committee which examined the Unemployment Insurance Bill. There he took the attitude that the legislation, with all its imperfections, should be placed on the statute books. Amendments would come later; it was essential to establish the principle without delay. A strong speech was his indictment of the Government's war boards packed with the representatives of big business and including only one representative of labor.

"The Right of Farmers to Demand and Receive a Proper Reward for Their Products and Their Labor". Saskatchewan's five members, making up the majority of the group, kept the needs of the farmer constantly before the House. Mr. Coldwell, as leader, had additional duties and the main burden of organizing work on farm problems fell upon T. C. Douglas, whose experience and ability as a debater have won him an important place in Parliament. Early in the session he demanded the closing of the private grain exchange and the marketing of all wheat through the Wheat Board. Later he added other proposals—a basic policy for wheat marketing, genuine farmer control of the Board, an interim crop payment, a guaranteed minimum price based on production costs and adequate living standards for the farmer. For weeks, while the Government would make no statement, he and the other Saskatchewan members hammered relentlessly at the Ministers concerned, impressing upon them the need of immediate action to provide security for the farmer. At the same time they asked assurance that the War-time Prices and Trade Board would take steps to prevent price rises in flour and bread as a result of the new processing tax on flour.

Associated closely with Mr. Douglas were the other prairie men. P. E. Wright, himself a farmer from Mel-fort, made a fine contribution in opposing the 10 per cent tax and its effect on the farmer in raising the price of his machinery and supplies. He too kept insisting on a policy statement from the Government. A. M. Nicholson lost no time in dealing with the desperate conditions facing many farmers in his own and other localities. Poverty, insecurity, ill-health, lack of educational facilities, cutting of relief allowances,—he never wearied

of etching the picture so sharply that for very decency the Government would be forced to take action. G. H. Castleden, fresh from high-school teaching, voiced the problems of youth especially and, in connection with the war, the necessity of greater equality of sacrifice. For him the national ownership and operation of industry are the obvious means of winning the war in the only way that can prove a real victory.

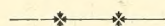
"The Rights of Free Speech, of Peaceful Assembly and of Religious Freedom." Mr. Coldwell, as group leader, took part in practically every phase of the sessional work. But he made one very special additional contribution. He was a member of the Committee which reviewed the Defence of Canada Regulations in camera. For the twenty-five exhausting sessions of the Committee he threw every ounce of energy into the task. While readily admitting that defence regulations are necessary in time of war, he was not prepared to see personal freedom curtailed beyond the minimum required to safeguard the country. An admirer of the British tradition of free speech and assembly, he worked to bring the Canadian regulations into closer line with those of Great Britain. That there have been safeguards introduced into several of the regulations, particularly that which now admits the legality of engaging in strikes, is undoubtedly due to Mr. Coldwell's persistence on the Committee. He has a tremendous faith in democracy, not as something accomplished but as the opportunity for building a new and co-operative world. Last fall he said: "We must see to it that in Canada at least the lights of such freedom as we have are not blacked out". Now, at the close of the first regular war session of Parliament, Mr. Coldwell and those associated with him in the C.C.F. group have the right to say: "We have tried to keep the lights of freedom burning. With the help of freedom-lovers the world over we will make them shine so brightly that no one shall ever dare to black them out."

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WE MUST LEARN FROM THE LESSON OF FRANCE

[Continued from Page Seven]

racy, so long as Hitler is undefeated, they will throw aside democracy without regret.

We have the same types of men in Great Britain; we must watch them narrowly now. We have the right to infer from Spain and now, alas, France, that, to them, the independence of the nation counts as nothing compared to their vested interests. They will tolerate democracy so long as it does not interfere with those interests. Once it does, not the most solemn agreement with an ally, not the immense dangers to which they expose their fellow-citizens counts in the balance.

I do not, let me add, believe that the slavery to which the Bordeaux Government has condemned the French people is more than a passing eclipse. These men have made certain a new French Revolution. These men, we hold, have made it inevitable that others will take on the great task of awakening in France a new will to be itself once more, a new determination to throw off the yoke of Hitler's domination.

But they have also made it certain that the trusteeship of the French tradition passes from the hands of the "Two Hundred Families" and their hired assassins into the hands of the workers. To fulfil it, they will need new leaders, a new society, new political forms. Above all, to fulfil it, they will need all the power and authority of the British workers.

FOR WE CANNOT SAY TOO OFTEN OR TOO EMPHATICALLY THAT THE BRITISH WORKERS HAVE NOW BECOME A VITAL INSTRUMENT IN THE LIBERATION OF THEIR FRENCH COMRADES.

As they hold, France will recover from the shock of this treachery. As they hold they can break the myth that Hitler is invincible. As they hold, they can reawaken in the subject peoples a sense of hope. Do not let us forget that it is, above all, hope that they need. Once we prove that there is one people he cannot conquer, we shall release forces in Europe which, if they be slow to organize, will organize very surely.

These next years, if we maintain our faith, are going to see a new revolution on an immense scale in Europe. There will be a movement, comparable in range and intensity, to the epoch of the Reformation. The age of capitalism is drawing to its close. The workers, if they have the courage and resolution, can move to the making of a new society.

But the condition of that movement is a British victory over Hitler. And a British victory means that our Bonnets, our Lavals, our Petains, shall not be used as instruments to betray us. Let the workers stand on guard.

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Alberta Labor Directory

Look here for information regarding Officers, Meetings, etc., of Trade Unions and other Labor Organizations in the Province

PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Alberta Federation of Labor—Legislative central body of the trade union movement in Alberta. Affiliated with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. President, F. J. White, Labor Temple, Calgary; Vice-Presidents, Robert Livett, D. B. MacKenzie, Calgary; Alfred Farmilo, Edmonton; Fred Smeed, Lethbridge; Secretary-Treasurer, Carl E. Berg, 9529 103A Avenue. Phone 21355.

Alberta Section, Canadian Labor Party—The political organization of Labor in Alberta. Speakers available for meetings in any part of the province. President, Fred J. White, Labor Temple, Calgary; R. T. Alderman, 1402 2nd St. N.W., Calgary.

CALGARY

Calgary Trades and Labor Council—Meets alternate Fridays in the Labor Temple, 229 Eleventh Avenue E., at 8 o'clock. President, H. C. Simpson; Vice-President, J. S. Davidson; Secretary-Treasurer, Fred J. White, 229 11th Ave. E.; Assistant Secretary, H. H. McKim; Vice-President, Alberta Federation of Labor, H. C. Simpson.

Calgary Branch, Canadian Labor Party—Meets in Labor Temple first Wednesday at 8 o'clock. President, Fred J. White; Vice-President, D. Henderson; Secretary, R. W. Losie, 512 18th Ave. N.E., Phone H 1290.

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America Local Division No. 583—Meets second Tuesday in month at Labor Temple, Calgary, 2:30 and 8:00 p.m. President, W. B. Robinson, 414 18th Avenue E., Phone M9788; Financial Secretary, G. S. Newcombe, 2317 First Street E., Phone M3728; Recording Secretary, F. Langley, 530 Seventeenth Avenue E., Phone M3822.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal & Soft Drink Workers of America, No. 124 (Brewery & Soft Drink Workers) International Union. Meets first Friday in each month. President, A. Weddel, 1815 17A St. W.; Vice-President, A. Nowell, 206 20th Ave. N.E.; Secretary-Treasurer, E. Osborne, 36 South Hill, Ogden; Recording Secretary, H. E. Branagh, 1425 11th Ave. E.

Calgary Typographical Union No. 449—Meets last Saturday of each month in Labor Temple at 6 p.m. President, Harry H. Handley; Secretary-Treasurer, G. C. Kirke, Box 295, Calgary, Alberta.

Motion Picture Projectionists, Local 302, I.A.T.S.E.—Meets second Tuesday of each month at 8:30 a.m. in Labor Temple. Secretary, D. B. MacKenzie, Room 1, Labor Temple; Business Manager, Alfred Brown, 213 Tenth Street, N.E.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers, No. 528, International Brotherhood of—Meets in Labor Temple, 229 Eleventh Avenue E. City Section meets second Monday at 8 p.m. and Co-op. Milk Wagon Drivers, Stablemen and Inside Men, second Wednesday at 7:30 p.m. President W. Moffat, 4509 McLeod Trail; Recording Secretary, A. Katzin, 1806 8th St. W.; Secretary-Treasurer, J. E. Blomfield, 1649 Bowness Road.

Electrical Workers Union—Local 348, International Brotherhood of—Meets second and fourth Wednesday at 8 p.m., Labor Temple, 229 Eleventh Avenue East, Calgary. President, Harry Billingham; Vice-President, E. W. Losie; Recording Secretary, O. Gardner; Financial Secretary, F. W. Keyte; Treasurer, T. W. Harling; Box 154 Calgary, Alta.

EDMONTON

Edmonton Trades and Labor Council—Meets first and third Monday. President, Carl E. Berg, 9529, 103A Avenue; Secretary, A. Farmilo, Labor Hall, Phone 24018.

Canadian Labor Party, Edmonton Central Council—Meets fourth Tuesday each month in Labor Hall. President, W. H. Miller, 11318 130th Street; Vice-President, F. C. Fraser; Secretary, Frank Giles; Treasurer, W. H. O'Neil, Labor Hall.

Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America Local Division 569—Meets first Tuesday in Labor Hall at 10 a.m. and 8 p.m. President, Wm. B. Quinn, 11504 93rd Street, Phone 72409; Secretary, F. McClean, 11249 91st Street, Phone 71422.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, No. 314—Meets second Wednesday in Labor Hall. President, F. R. Smart, 11216 65th Street; Vice-President, D. O. Roberts, 9611 83rd Avenue; Recording Secretary, J. E. Smith, 10747 75th Avenue. Shop Delegate, F. J. White, 11916 87th Street; Distributors' Delegate, F. Smart, 11216 65th Street; Secretary, J. Flower, 10832 75th Street, Phone 71937.

Carpenters and Joiners, No. 1325, United Brotherhood of—Meets first and third Friday. President, J. Logan, 10843 109th Street, Phone 24816; Financial Secretary, L. D. Pollard, 9328 101A Avenue, Phone 26719; Recording Secretary, R. J. Metcalf, 12212 97th Street; Treasurer, C. C. Greenough, 10640 125th Street, Phone 82815.

Civic Service Union No. 52—Meets second Friday, 8 p.m., Labor Hall. President, J. Pollock, 11142 70th Street; Secretary, L. N. Lee, 9834 106th Street.

Edmonton Typographical Union No. 604, P.O. Box 95—Meets second Tuesday of each month in Labor Hall at 7:30 p.m. President, A. Laing, 11608 96th Street, Phone 73328; Secretary-Treasurer, G. H. Bowling, 8102 92nd Ave.; Corresponding and Recording Secretary, W. T. Tiplin, 10137 118th Street, Phone 81680.

Fire Fighters, No. 209, International Association of—Meets in No. 2 Fire Hall. President, C. E. Marriott, 11018-123 Street, Phone 23573; Secretary-Treasurer, J. Staton, 11432 85th Street, Phone 72741.

Garment Workers of America, No. 120, United—Meets second Wednesday in each month in Labor Hall. President, Mrs. Alberta Myers, 10344 101st St.; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Olive Carmichael, 12908 115th Ave.

Laborers' International Union No. 92—President, Daniel Sinclair, 9650 99 St.; Vice-President, Wm. Griffin; Recording Secretary, Harry Walker, Hodcarriers Section, William Ewen, Chairman, 12109 94th Street, Terrazzo Helpers and Laborers' Section, Walter Mentz, Chairman, 11524 89th Street; General Business Agent and Secretary-Treasurer, Carl E. Berg, 9529 103A Avenue.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, Local 255—Meets first Friday in Labor Hall at 8 p.m. President, A. Zucchet; Secretary, J. E. Powell, 10944 129 St., Phone 83544.

Railway Carmen No. 448, Brotherhood of—Meets second and fourth Monday in Labor Hall. President, F. C. Fraser, 10923 130th Street; Secretary, A. Spence, 11141 130th Street. Recording Secretary, A. Spence, 11141 130th Street, Phone 83552; Financial Secretary, S. Hamilton, 10150 87th Avenue.

LETHBRIDGE

Lethbridge Trades and Labor Council—Meets alternate Wednesdays in the Labor Hall, 240 Thirtieth Street North, at 8 o'clock. President, Fred Smeed; Vice-President, Fred Quinn; Secretary-Treasurer, E. W. Alford, No. 2 Fire Hall; Recording Secretary, Wm. J. Savage.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, No. 354—(Brewery and Soft Drink Workers) International Union. Meets every third Friday in Labor Hall. President, Fred Smeed, Phone 3828; Vice-President, Wm. Melvin; Secretary-Treasurer, Albert Holmes, 211 14th St. N., Phone 4348.

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Edmonton Sub-District United Mine Workers of America—David Mathieson Secretary, Room 6, Imperial Bank Building, Phone 25429. For information about union-mined coal in this district, call this office.

Nacmine Local U.M.W. of A., No. 4465—Meets second and last Sunday in month. President, F. Thyso; Vice-President, E. Jones; Secretary-Treasurer, Garfield Graham. (Burn Union-Mined Coal)

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